

LARKSON'S RENUNCIATION OF AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Loyal Garrison.

As was in England on a former occasion, I did me the favor to call upon me at a rayford Hall, to take a part against the 'Colonization Society.' Long before this visit, my friend, Mr. Elliot Cresson, had engaged me in its favor, so that I fear that I did not show you the attention and respect (while you was at my house) due to so faithful an apostle of liberty. You have lately been in England again, but your numerous engagements prevented you from seeing me, though it was my intention to have done so, and to have conversed with me on the same subject. I understand from your friends in London, that you wished to know the particular reasons, why I have changed my mind with respect to that Society. I have no objection to give you a short account of the reasons which induced me to enter into it, and finally to abandon it.

My attention was first drawn to this subject by Mr. Elliot Cresson, who said that there was at that moment an almost universal desire in the people of the United States to abolish Slavery and the Slave Trade, and that he and they had a plan for this purpose. The plan was to emancipate all those, then in bondage there, and to send them to Africa, the land of their fathers, where they were to buy land and form Colonies on the principle of *Christianity, the natives there, of teaching them Christianity, and of preventing the slave-trade in their immediate neighborhood*, as well as trying to put an end to it in other parts, wherever their influence might reach. This desire or disposition in the American people to accomplish so glorious a work was, he said, almost universal. It was not confined to the clergy, or persons of superior intellect, or high moral character, but it extended through the various classes of society, even to the planters themselves, who were then deeply convinced of the sin of holding their fellow-creatures as slaves, so that slaves for transportation might be bought for £7 10s. each (the sum calculated to pay their passage). Many masters were so convinced of the sin of slavery, that they would emancipate, and were then emancipating their slaves, for nothing, that is, without any pecuniary consideration, or on the condition only, that they should be sent to Africa, and comfortably provided for there. Upon this universally prevalent disposition, the Colonization Society was founded; and a district, to be called Liberia, on the Western coast of Africa, was fixed upon for the purpose. This was the account given me by my friend Mr. Cresson, and I own that I was overcome with joy, and carried away by it. I thought it was one of the sublimest plans ever devised. Here the two great evils of slavery and the slave trade were to be done away at one and the same time in the United States. But that circumstance, which astonished me the most, was that there should have broken out all at once, and over the whole land, such a sunshine of benevolent feeling; that men should suddenly, and all at once, have given up long established customs, and the rooted prejudices of ages; and that the hardened hearts of planters should have been all at once melted and softened, and their consciences so smitten, as to have acknowledged slaveholding to be a sin, for which they were anxious to make reparation at a great sacrifice, namely, the free emancipation of their slaves. These feelings on the part of the American people were not to be accounted for upon any ordinary principle. I thought that nothing but the Spirit of God could have worked such a miracle, and that if it was his will that the blessing of freedom should come to American slaves through the means of the Colonization Society, we were bound most thankfully to accept the boon. My astonishment was so great at this miraculous change of things, that I questioned my friend, Mr. Cresson, over and over again, if his account was not exaggerated. He replied always that it was strictly true. And these were the reasons why I patronized the Society in the very beginning of its formation.

I began now to think very seriously on what had been, at different times, related to me on this subject, and first, how such an immense work was to be accomplished. Nearly two millions and a half of slaves were stated to be then in the United States, and all these were to be transported to Africa. It struck me that no private funds could be collected by Mr. Cresson, either in England or in America, sufficient for this purpose; that it was in fact, and ought to be, a government work; and I told him my fears that he would never accomplish his object. He told me, in reply, that besides subscriptions by individuals, the different States in the Union would each give its quota of money towards it, sufficient to transport all the slaves within its own district or boundaries. He then showed me one or two American newspapers, in which it appeared that one of the States, Virginia, I think, had already promised a very large sum, some thousands of dollars, to the work, and he believed that the rest of the States would follow the example. Thus my fears were quieted as they related to this part of the subject. I do not know whether Virginia has to this day fulfilled her promise.

On going more deeply into this subject, new ideas rose up to my mind. I began to think that if the slaves in the United States amounted to the immense number reported, with the population every day increasing, by birth, no man then living might see this good work brought to an end; and that during all this time, that is, during their transportation, all the horrors of slavery would be going on among those who were left behind. I determined, therefore, to satisfy myself on this point; and therefore, when I saw my friend Mr. Cresson next, I inquired what was the then state of Liberia; how many emancipated persons had been already imported into it, and what was the number annually brought into it. I gathered from him, as far as I can now recollect, that between two and three thousand had already come into it, and that more were on their way thither; but that I waited a little time longer, he could give me a better answer. I accordingly waited for some months, when I found that the recruits began to come in much more slowly than before, and that, judging by the last importations, or the number then imported in a given time, I could not expect that more than 1000, or 1500, or at the most 2000 emancipated slaves, could then be counted upon to be sent annually into Liberia. This alarmed me, and I began to think that some difficulties had occurred in the way of the emancipation; either that the funds were then not equal to the transportation of more, or that more could not be procured. Not more than 2000, at most, could be expected to be brought in a year; whereas not less than three millions, or thereabouts, had been sent to that land, to get rid of a population of three millions, in any reasonable person, if Mr. Cresson's report was true, it would be a slow and painful hope to see the extinction

of slavery in the United States in less than 500 years, if at all. Nor could they take off, by such a slow process even the rising generation as they were born. Nor, if the American government were to take the plan into their own hands, could they, in any reasonable time, accomplish the work, were they even to give to the project every shilling of their surplus revenue, in their treasury, and employ the whole navy in the transportation of those people, taking in the rising generations, and all the difficulties which would occur. Even then, the American government, could not accomplish it in less than fifty years. I considered, therefore, Mr. Cresson's plan, so far as related to the removal of these unhappy people, as impracticable within the lifetime of any man then living, and I told him so repeatedly, but I could never get a satisfactory answer from him, nor can any satisfactory answer be given to show that the scheme is practicable; and this ought to weigh with those who, if this Society still exists, have a desire to enter into it. Let such persons, moreover, consider that this Society has already existed, I believe for eight or nine years, and that there is not a slave less in the United States now, than when they began their work. Indeed, notwithstanding all their efforts, during all this time, there are many hundreds of thousands more, in consequence of the increase of population, than when the plan was first proposed; the slave-population, according to the best accounts, amounting now to nearly three millions. And I may say further, that if this Society still exists, it is criminal for to hold out that their scheme would produce the entire extinction of slavery in America, (and this was held out, with an inconceivable obscenity,) what was it, or what is it, but to delude the public as well as themselves, and to teach people to rely upon this one measure? whereas, if their scheme had never been proposed, they would have been looking out for some other remedy or cure.

I began to have other fears as I looked into the subject further, from a very different view of it. I began to question, whether the persons to be sent out were the proper persons to found a new colony in an uncivilized part of the world, and whether they would not do more harm than good. The natives of Africa, besides being called upon to abolish slavery in their own territory, were to be improved in their morals, to be civilized, to be christianized; but were slaves newly emancipated fit persons to carry on such a work? And yet, by the scheme, such, and such alone, except the officers were to be employed in it. The scheme had reference only to those who were then slaves, and who were to be made free on the occasion; that is just before the sailing of the vessels, which were to convey them to their new homes. Now it is obvious that if these people were sent to Liberia and other parts of the same Continent, they would go there with all the vices of slavery upon their heads. Theft, lying, prevarication, and trickery of every kind, are the characteristics of a slave, brought on inevitably by the vicious system under which he has been obliged to live. To this is to be added the brutal and superstitious notions, which such people must have their wants of education, and of any knowledge of civilized life; but, above all, their want of any moral principle to guide them, and their total ignorance of God and religion. Now, I did not think that people of this description were fit to be sent to Africa, to form a pattern colony for the imitation of the natives there; for they were not persons of a pattern conduct themselves. These were my thoughts upon this part of the subject, and I mentioned them several times to Mr. Cresson. He said that hitherto, he had taken all the care he could to make a selection, but admitted that 120 of this description had come into Liberia amongst the last importations. He candidly confessed, that he did not see how he could help himself on a future occasion. Indeed he spoke only the truth; for the scheme related only to those who were then in bondage, and who as soon as ever they were emancipated, (however unfit they might be,) were to be the component parts of the new colonies in Africa.

You will see in this narrative, my reasons for patronizing at first, the American Colonization Society, and my reasons also for having afterwards deserted it. I left it first, because it was entirely impracticable. This is a sufficient reason of itself; for no man in his senses would pursue a plan, which he thought could never be accomplished. I left it, secondly, because I thought that newly emancipated slaves were not qualified to become colonists in Africa to any good purpose. How could persons be sent with any propriety to civilize others, who wanted civilizing themselves? Besides, the advocates for the Colonization Society in America had no right to send the scum of their population to Africa to breed a moral pestilence there. As far, however, as the abolition of the slave trade concurred in the plan, it must be allowed that Liberia has done a great deal of good. But then, this was the first colony planted, and people sent there, as Mr. Cresson assured me, were more select. Many of those had been emancipated, a considerable time before, and had got their own living, knowing something of the habits of civilized life. My argument relates only to newly emancipated slaves, who are sent to the scheme, were to be hurried off from the plantations as soon as their liberty was given them. If the Society did not take these people, then the prospect, offered to the public, had no meaning in it, and slavery could never, according to its promises, be extinguished in the United States.

Since writing the above, I have learnt from an American paper, that a skirmish has taken place between the colonists of Liberia and the people of Gatoombah's town. I know nothing of the causes of this apparently little war, but am grieved to learn, when the skirmish was over, that a most wanton, deliberate, cool-blooded act of butchery was practiced by the missionaries themselves; who boasted, that while the people of Gatoombah's town were gathering up their dead, they had the best chance of any to fire into their groups, and when they had turned their backs, to pepper their heads with buck-shot. This was too bad, and contrary to the usages of war among civilized nations; but to rejoice in, to boast of, to make a joke of such a murderous deed, belonged only to savages; and yet these men, we repeat, missionaries; disciples of the Prince of Peace; and perhaps leading men in the colony. What effect such barbarous conduct will have upon the natives, to prevent future colonies from being settled on their coast, we may perhaps live to see. The news of this massacre will certainly be spread by the Kroenon all over the African coast, and the Colonization Society may be deprived of the power of making further purchases in Africa, except in their own immediate vicinity; where they may have done some good. If this should ever be the case, they may bid farewell to their future hopes. Where then will they provide land on this continent for three millions of emancipated slaves?

But I have not done with this subject yet. Mr. Cresson had scarcely left England the last time,

when new information was given me on this same subject by two American gentlemen of the very highest moral reputation, by which I was led to suppose two things; either that I had mistaken Mr. Cresson in his numerous conversations with me, or that he had allowed me to entertain erroneous impressions without correcting them. It was true, as my two friends informed me, that there had actually been a great stir or agitation in the United States on this subject, and quite as extensive and general as Mr. Cresson had represented it to be, but that the cause of it was not a religious feeling, as I had been led to imagine, by which the planters had been convinced of the sin of slavery, but a base feeling of fear, which seemed to pervade all of them, and which urged them to get rid of the free people of color by sending them to Africa. These people were more knowing, intelligent and cultivated than the slaves, and it was believed, were likely to join them, and be very useful to them in the case of an insurrection; so that if these were once fairly sent out of the country, they, the planters, might the more safely rule their then slaves with a rod of iron. This information was accompanied by an account, by way of proof, taken from American newspapers, of different meetings held by the friends of the Colonization Society in different States of the Union, and of the speeches made there. It appeared from these speeches, that the most violent supporters of this society were planters themselves, and that the speakers did not hesitate to hold out the monstrous and hateful proposition, that the negroes were not men and women; but that they belonged to the brute creation. It was impossible to read these speeches, which were so many public documents, and not perceive that the persons then assembled were no friends, but bitter enemies, to the whole African race, and that nothing in the way of good intentions towards the negro could be expected from them. It is unnecessary for me to attempt to describe what sayings were upon this occasion. I will only say that I saw the scheme—shall I say, the diabolical scheme? with new eyes, and that the new light thus thrown upon it, added to the two arguments before mentioned, determined me to wash my hands clean forever of the undertaking.

With respect to my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce, I will tell you what was his opinion on the subject. He saw Mr. Cresson through my introduction, and having heard patiently all that Mr. Cresson had to say in favor of his scheme, put this important question to him:—Why, when the government of the United States indeed, at their disposal, why do you send them to Africa for a new home, when you can locate them in the country in which they were born, and to which they have a claim by birth-right, and on account of services to the community? Mr. Cresson never answered this question, so as to satisfy Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Wilberforce would not stir a step till it was answered. His opinion was, that if Congress were composed of just and honest men, they would locate these slaves in a territory neighboring to their own, and make a separate State of them, and have them represented on the floor of Congress; or that they would send them to a great distance, making an allied State of them there, and sending proper officers and magistrates with them, to live among them, and to put them into a way of governing themselves. But he gave the preference to the former measure. He always thought that there was something hidden in Mr. Cresson's plan, which was purposely concealed. I have now given you my reasons for having once patronized the Colonization Society, and then deserted it, and hope you will consider them satisfactory.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,
Very truly and cordially yours,
THOMAS CLARKSON.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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SLAVERY IN CINCINNATI.

Recent circumstances have forced the conviction upon us, that, in defiance of the organic law of the State, individuals have been and are now held as slaves in this city. The near neighborhood of Kentucky, the numerous family alliances between the citizens of both states, and the continual interchange of population, open various covert ways for the introduction of slavery among us. A citizen here receives under his roof a slave-boy, owned by a relative in Kentucky, keeps and treats him as a slave till it becomes inconvenient or dangerous, and then returns him to his former owner, to pine out his life in perpetual slavery. A transient resident, during a sojourn below, purchases a servant, and on removing higher, brings him along.—Here, the poor victim, ignorant of the laws of Ohio, and of his rights under those laws, continues to serve without wages one whom he is taught to consider his owner, and is kept in subjection by the lash, or the threat of being sold down the river. A citizen of Cincinnati buys a slave of his father or mother in a slave state, under the pretext of doing a charitable act, and then compels him to work as a slave, to pay for his freedom.

In all these cases, the constitution of the state of Ohio is glaringly violated, and a most aggravated insult inflicted on the community—to say nothing of the wrong done to the victims of such injustice.

It is obvious that kidnapping in such circumstances can be carried on with comparative impunity. If the self-constituted master become displeased, all he has to do, is to travel with his servant in a slave-state, and leave him there, to be sold; or send him on business to his relatives, who will kindly dispose of him to the best advantage. It is exceedingly difficult to take hold of these slaveholders. If you compel them by writ of habeas corpus to produce the persons unlawfully detained, aware that the constitution of Ohio prohibits slavery, they deny that they hold them as slaves—they simply support them & take care of them—they do not restrain their liberty—they make no claim to their services as slaves! Of course, the individuals are discharged—people wonder that the abolitionists should thus harass good citizens—the court probably ministers a rebuke to intermediaries with the domestic concerns of others—and no evidence being demanded, as no claim is set up, the person who has made affidavit is de-

prived of an opportunity to clear himself by a statement of facts from the suspicion which settles upon him. Certainly, the slave holder, when thus detected, will disavow the act; and a mere simoleon can understand, why, by a prompt disclaimer of any right to his victim, he should seek to prevent inquiry into his past conduct, and to overwhelm the informer with odium.

There is one way in which such rascality might be brought to light & duly punished, and that is, by an action for damages for false imprisonment, or a suit for services rendered. But here would be a difficulty. Our benevolent legislators have generously secured the white villain against black testimony. Persons thus held, being blacks or mulattoes, could not testify against those who had been oppressing and robbing them.

A few weeks since, a friend of ours, having satisfied himself by sufficient evidence, that a colored woman was held as a slave by a coffee-house keeper on sixth st., made affidavit accordingly, and procured a writ of habeas corpus.—The woman, a wretched, worn-out looking creature, was brought before Judge Reed, and the man setting up no claim to her, (and certainly would have been a fool to have done so,) she was discharged as a free woman.

The person holding her had purchased her in Kentucky. A few days before, he had been negotiating with an individual there who wished to buy her. The bargain, we are informed was closed, and the buyer came over on Sunday to receive "his property." Meanwhile, the writ of habeas corpus having been served, ordering the woman to be brought before the court the following morning, the holder did not dare himself to execute the agreement, but engaged an acquaintance to inveigle her, if possible, across the river. The woman was advised of her danger, and the plot failed. Such is the statement made to us, a statement which would have been made to the court, had not the man been instructed to disavow all claim to the woman. No explanation of the facts on which the affidavit was grounded, having been asked, the case by many was regarded as additional evidence of the meddlesome disposition of abolitionists.

Within a few days, a more interesting case has occurred. Mr. B—, one of the most respectable citizens of the place, was required by writ of habeas corpus to produce the bodies of Mary Green and her two children, whom George R. Smith, on oath, had represented, as being held in slavery, "to the best of his belief and knowledge." The parties accordingly appeared before court, and the return made was, that he, Mr. B—, had bought her time of a relative in Kentucky, to prevent her being sold down the river—she and her children were supported in his house—her liberty was not restrained—it was not by her wish she was brought into court—he made no claim to her services. Judge Reed remarked that the woman and her children were, every one knew, free by the laws of Ohio, free from the fact of having been brought here. It was a singular case. The affidavit sets forth that she and her children were held as slaves. Mr. B— comes forward and testifies that he makes no claim to them as such—they are at liberty to go where they see proper—he purchased the woman to save her from slavery. He hoped the time of the court would not be occupied with these idle affidavits. Every intelligent man knew that slavery could not exist in Ohio. If slaves were brought here, they became free. He added that such affidavits, if false, would furnish grounds of indictment for perjury. Great sympathy seemed manifested for Mr. B—, no occasion was afforded for Mr. Smith to state the facts, which supported his declarations—great odium consequently attached to him.

We wish such an occasion had offered itself. Judge Reed we presume would have seen that the affidavit was far from being an idle one, and the respectability of Mr. B—, would scarcely have shielded him against the honest indignation of the spectators. Mr. Smith had seen the woman herself—and she herself had positively told him that she was in confinement, and was treated as a slave—that she had not received wages—and that she had been badly used. It was returned to the writ, that it was not her wish to be brought before the court; and yet, when told by Judge Reed that she was at liberty to go where she saw proper, and might return to Mr. B—'s if she would, she shook her head and said she did not want to go back—neither did she go back. Such conduct is a sufficient comment on Mr. B—'s declaration. We were very glad to hear the Judge declare with much emphasis, that if Mr. B— or any other man should carry the woman, brought into the state under such circumstances, out of it into slavery, he would commit a penitentiary offence.

Other cases in Cincinnati we now have an eye upon.

The pastor of a church in this place, has in his possession a slave-boy, brought from Kentucky. So far as we can learn, he has never executed free papers for him. The clergyman is one of that class of clerical monsters that believes in the 'rightfulness' of slave holding. His father wrote a book in defence of the system. Very naturally we feel concerned in the condition of a lad held under such circumstances.

We know not the minister's intentions; we hope they are good. It will do him no harm, however, to be informed, that should he take the lad into a slave-state and leave him there, a slave, he would be guilty of a penitentiary offence. The crime would be that of KIDNAPING.

A word to our friends. Be vigilant, but be cautious, moderate, discreet. Where you have sufficient evidence that a person is held under restraint, tell him of his rights. Acquaint him with the laws of Ohio.—If he says he is under restraint, advise him to

leave at once. Then, if force be used to detain or recover him, indisputable proof is at once secured; the wrong can be redressed; the wrong doer punished.

Or, having obtained all the necessary facts in such a case, go to a Judge of the court of common pleas, and state them to him fully and fairly. If they shall appear to him to furnish sufficient cause for a writ of habeas corpus, he has power to issue it without the previous formality of an affidavit.

Or, finally, having satisfied yourself by careful inquiry, and if possible, by the declarations of the person himself who is restrained, make affidavit accordingly, and have the writ issued. It would be well, we think, to resort to this method, after the other methods had failed.—In all cases, however, take the advice of some discreet lawyer. We have several among us, who will always be glad freely to give their counsel in such matters.

We shall conclude this article by copying the Declaration of the Constitution of Ohio relating to slavery. Let our friends study it well, and see with what extreme carelessness, its framers guarded against the introduction of any species of slavery into this state.

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years, nor female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under pretence of indenture or otherwise, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on consideration of a bona fide consideration, received or to be received for their service, except as before excepted. Nor shall any indenture of a negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of this state, or if made in the state where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in the case of apprenticeship."—Art. viii, Sec. 2.

This is the noblest guaranty of freedom in the whole constitution. The language is explicit and emphatic. The section prohibits slavery in Ohio, in all its forms, now and forever.—It does not tolerate it for a year, a month, a day, or a moment. With a single exception, its operation is entire, and never-ceasing. The exception is created by the Constitution of the U. States, which protects against the operation of this section, the right of the master in Kentucky or any other slave state, to his slave, who may have ESCAPED OUT OF SUCH STATE INTO OHIO.—Otherwise, the section frees.

1. The slave who is sent from Kentucky to sell apples or cranberries for his master in Cincinnati market.
2. The slave who is sent among us to work for the benefit of his master.
3. The slave who is brought by his master with him on a visit to Ohio.
4. The slave who is conveyed by his master into this state on his transit to Missouri or the South.
5. The slave who is contracted for by a citizen of Ohio, and introduced within our limits, as his servant.
6. The slave whose time is purchased, and who is held by a person in Ohio under pretence of making him work out his freedom-money.
7. The slave-child, who is borrowed for purposes of convenience by a person in Ohio, and held under his authority.
8. In a word, it frees every slave, the moment he is introduced in any way whatsoever into our state, by the will of his master.

Our applications of this section might be adverted to, but those mentioned are sufficient to show with what scrupulous zeal the founders of the state were bent on securing their soil against the foul foot-prints of slavery.

UNWISE.

Facts have been furnished us lately, giving ground for the belief that certain Abolitionists are desirous of breaking up the Philanthropist. In this they show more spite than wisdom. What good will it do them now, to crush the paper? Their beloved party is no longer in jeopardy. The battle has been fought, and won. Surely a most unlovely spirit possesses them. The paper belongs to the Ohio A. S. Society. This association will have to decide at its next anniversary, whether it has been properly or improperly conducted. Those who are dissatisfied with our course, may utter their complaints there. Should a majority will it, the present editor will leave his chair. To throw up your paper now, is therefore unwise. You do not injure me, but your society, and the cause of the slave to which you have pledged your faith.

The principles upon which I have conducted the paper, I firmly believe to be right; and I rejoice to be sustained in my course by every member of our Executive Committee, excepting two individuals. That those abolitionists who have voted for 'slaveholders' and pro-slavery men, for the highest offices in the nation, have done wrong, and reflected dishonor on their cause, I more firmly than ever believe; and I pledge myself hereafter most steadfastly to maintain the duty on the part of every citizen, of the immediate and total abandonment of every species of pro-slavery voting. This ground will be held till our next anniversary, when the society may determine whether it will take the same ground, or justify voting for slavery, while it denounces the practice of it as an enormous crime. I would as lief compromise with the practice of slaveholding, as that of voting for slaveholders or their abettors. Those of our friends who differ from us, and think that sound principle and policy justify the practice of sustaining for office, the pledged supporters of what we all denounce as a monstrous sin and political curse, may be very good citizens, and sincere anti-slavery men; but we tell them in all honesty and good temper, we do not believe them when acting on such a sentiment, sound and efficient abolitionists. In our estimation, they are giving the same kind of countenance to the practical pro-slavery of this nation, (for be it remembered, in no act does the pro-slavery corruption of this Union appear more glaring than in that of voting for slaveholders and their al-

lies,) that the benevolent slaveholder gives to practical slaveholding. If he is the strongest prop of the system of slavery in the South, they are the strongest supports of pro-slavery subservience in the free states. Let us not be understood as denouncing any man. We are simply expressing our candid convictions of the nature of the policy, which a very large majority of abolitionists has seen proper to adopt.

POLITICS.

No truth can be more manifest than that our enterprise has two aspects, a religious and political one. Slavery is a sin against God; consequently it becomes a subject for church action. It is also a wrong to the individual and the community; and therefore within the scope of state action. Our enterprise then demands the use of both religious and political instrumentalities.—If you make it exclusively a political question, you let go the most powerful lever for moving the public mind—that is, public conscience. You deprive yourself at once of the most important preliminary to sound political action,—a strong religious sentiment. On the other hand, regard it alone as a religious question, and confine your management of it to religious methods, and you may make it a sublime abstraction, but never an efficient reality. You accumulate principle, but prohibit its most important application. It is as if a city should provide itself with arms and munitions of war against a besieger; and then spike its own guns. If human government be right, then one of the highest uses of the religious principle is, to compel it to abolish the evil it has created. Church action is designed, not to make the individual a christian, while attending to religious ceremonies—but a christian, that is to say, an honest and pious man, in all the relations of life, at all times. If its operation in relation to the individual is so important, how much more important in its relation to communities? Your great object is, to make the individual act on his religious principles as a father, a husband, a business man—and will you forbid him to act them out as a citizen, a sovereign? For every citizen of these U. States is a sovereign. But if this application be allowed, you at once concede the propriety of political action against slavery. You confess that our enterprise ought to be a political as well as religious one.

But political and religious instrumentalities differ.—The former are primarily coercive, the latter primarily suasive. When you treat our enterprise as a political subject, you must apply to it political instrumentalities. What are these? Political writings, speeches, conventions, party-action, VOTING. If an evil has its roots in legislation, the hand of the legislator must extirpate them. Hence the necessity of a resort to the ballot-box. You may exercise discipline in the church—you may record ecclesiastical testimony against slavery—you may pray and preach against it. This is well, but if you stop here, crime, under the protection of law, will laugh you to scorn. All the measures named are but preliminary. Go then to the ballot-box—let your vote be the office of a legislator who will apply to legislation the principles which you have proclaimed as true in your church capacity—and the work is done. That which made, unmakes. The law relative power which established evil, abrogates it. But mind! Praying and church discipline are not voting. You can't pray good men into office.—In the providence of God, a sure way to achieve this object is put within your grasp.—THE BALLOT-BOX.

"O, but you must let this alone, till we get the churches right!" What is that to thee! Do your own duty in the church and we will help you; but do not thrust yourself in between the little presbytery and the great assembly, and its application. Why should ministers lay stumbling blocks in the way of political action on right principles? In this matter we do not ask your guidance. In ecclesiasticals, we concede to you the lead. In politics, you are too inexperienced to be leaders. Besides, your churches in Ohio have already, many of them, acted. On the Western Reserve, the testimony of the Presbyterian churches, at least in its synods and presbyteries, is sound; and such is the fact generally through the State. But, we ask, what good will it do, if nothing more is to follow? Answer this question candidly. The Synod of Cincinnati, and the Presbytery have both taken strong ground against slavery; and yet, seven members of an abolition church within the bounds of the presbytery, threw up their subscription to our paper—simply because it insisted on the duty of carrying out the religious sentiment of the presbytery, at the ballot-box, as well as in the church! This shows that right principles do not always lead to correct practices—that a man may be anti-slavery in the church, and pro-slavery in his politics.—What good, we again ask, will the recorded testimony of presbyteries and synods, and conferences do, if political action be not resorted to? Just think of it. Year after year, they may go on uttering their testimony, until it will come to be a thing of course, and receive about as much consideration as the yearly remembrance of the slave, incorporated in the addresses of the Society of Friends. Abolition societies have not yet done their work. They are beginning at last to prevail on the church to do its duty; it remains that they argue the state also to appropriate action. Let not ministers and churches interfere with their operations, crying out for postponement or half way measures.

Soon we shall begin to hold political meetings. The theme will be, the Slave Power, in its influence on the government and finances of the nation. We shall want to set the people in motion; but when they begin to move, what shall we tell them? That they are too slow to accomplish any thing? That the nation is pro-slavery and therefore we must vote for pro-slavery candidates? That they must make it a point always to choose the less of two evils imposed on them by corrupt caucuses? That they had better vote with that party which on the whole they imagine will do most for the other interests of the country? Such counsel would make all our eloquence fall flat and powerless. What, I ask, should we tell them? What great principle lay down to write them in efficient operation? A year or two ago in this city they were holding ward temperance meetings, to put down coffee-houses. What a queer temperance politician he would have been, who after expatiating grandiloquently on the curses of drink-drinking and the license system, should have wound up his discourse by exhorting his hearers not to be in haste—"you can't succeed in electing men opposed to the coffee-house system—true, the candidates in nomination are either drunkards or supporters of grog-shops—but it won't do to throw away your votes, you had better bestow your suffrages on those candidates who on the whole will do most for the other interests of the city." Well might the meeting exclaim, "We knew all this before. Why did you call us out to hear such counsel as this! We thought you would point out some way of acting against the coffee houses; and lo! it is all talk!" Now, what was the counsel given? Action! friends, action! We have been talking long enough against evil, and we must now go to voting. Vote for no man who is not a foe to intemperance. We have got truth on our side; all that is necessary now, is union, and fast adherence to our principles. True, we may not elect our candidates this time—perhaps not the

